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ABSTRACT

The Arabization process in the Maghreb countries--Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia--is unique in that these countries are officially committed to the use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) while widespread use of French, a colonial language, persists, and the formal Arabic used in Arabization differs from the colloquial forms used in each country. The language planning of this process takes two forms: corpus Arabization and status Arabization. The process began after the countries' independence from France. Impediments to Arabization included a lack of native speakers of MSA, problems in introducing the language in elementary education, lack of support from the elite, and in Algeria, the rise of the movement known as "Berberism." However, progress has been made at all educational levels, in administration, and in the media. Since the late 1970s, there has been renewed vigor in all three countries' Arabization campaigns because of the general shift in language usage and changing attitudes due to partial Arabization. The political influence of the Islamic revival in the Middle East and the influx of Arab monies into the Maghreb from the Gulf countries have also been instrumental in promoting Arabization. A gradual process of change is predicted, but the most important requirement for success, acquaintance with MSA, has already been met. (MSE)

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Language/Area Reference Center

SPECIAL REPORT:

ARABIZATION IN THE MAGHREB

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December, 1984

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ARABIZATION IN THE MAGHREB

I. Introduction

The focus of this report on Arabization is the three countries of North Africa known as the Maghreb--Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia--because unlike any single country or region within the Arabic-speaking world, these nations are officially committed in varying degrees to the use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in the administration, education and media, while widespread use of a foreign language, French, persists. The situation is further complicated by the fact that this standard form of Arabic is a formal, written form of the language acquired only through education, and that the native languages of all three countries are colloquial dialects of Arabic considerably different than MSA, in addition to Berber in the case of Algeria and Morocco. The linguistic, historical, socio-political and economic reasons for this situation will be explored in this report, as will the constraints to Arabization and achievements to date. Country Status Reports (CSRs) have been previously prepared for all three countries and the Language Use Matrices of these CSRs, which summarize and code language use in specific categories, have been included as Appendices 1-3, while the explanation of matrix figures appears as Appendix 4.

The term "Arabization" refers to a process of language planning which in the Maghreb takes two forms: corpus Arabization and status Arabization. The former, corpus Arabization, refers to the elaboration and modernization of Arabic vocabulary aimed at transforming MSA into a language capable of being used as a medium of instruction for subjects traditionally outside its sphere of use, such as engineering, physics, chemistry, medicine, etc., and concurrently in the professions themselves. This form of Arabization is typically the job of government-formed language planning agencies, and is a challenge faced throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

Status Arabization, on the other hand, is a challenge faced almost exclusively by the countries of the Maghreb, and refers to all decisions regarding the use of MSA, where French has traditionally been used as the medium. It entails decisions about language in the schools, in official government communications and documents, in the military, the mass media, commerce, street and traffic signs, etc. Although status Arabization is faced to some extent throughout the Arabic-speaking world, the task has been particularly difficult, in the Maghreb, where the French colonial presence was of long duration and where French policy was to attempt to undermine the status of Arabic to the extent that even informal conversation among Maghrebians would be in French.

II. Background

During the struggle against French colonialism in the 1950's and 60's, a considerable part of the drive to independence, or at least an important symbol of this drive, was the desire to restore the Arabic language (which was, in fact, a sacred language to these predominantly Muslim people) to the status and glory it had enjoyed before the coming of the French. It was well recognized and resented that the colonizer had, to a considerable degree, aliented elites through French education and disparaged and undermined Arabic as a vehicle of culture indirectly in Tunisia and Morocco, and quite deliberately in Algeria.

At the time of independence from France, in 1956 for Morocco and Tunisia, and in 1962 for Algeria, the only sources of national pride still intact were the revolution (the successful expulsion of France), Islam and the Arabic language. The three nations sought to build their national identities around their Arabo-Muslim heritage, and the key to this process was the restoration of Arabic as the media of national systems and the expression of national culture.

In spite of this need for national symbols and the need to build national identities, however, the choice to follow a policy of Arabization was hotly disputed within each of the North African countries. There were those who felt that the future of the Maghreb lay only in its association with the greater Arab world, led at that time by Nasser's Egypt. With this view went the idea that Arabization must be total and immediate.

On the other hand, there were those who believed that focussing on the greater Arab world neglected the very important "African connection", maintainable in large part through the French language. Additionally, all three countries had important political reasons for not wanting to be pulled under the Nasser umbrella. Nasser's vision of government was a secular, socialist one, considerably threatening to Morocco's traditional monarch who claimed descent from the prophet Muhammad. Nasser's anti-imperial, anti-west views were ideologically contrary to Tunisian President Bourguiba's Arabic-French/bicultural Tunisification campaign. And Algeria's revolutionary leaders (many of them Berbers) were unwilling to hand to Nasser the considerable prestige they had won at home and throughout the third world in ousting the French after six years of sustained and violent revolution. Even more important to many was the concern that complete Arabization would distance North Africa from the industrialized West and somehow restrict modern development.

It was a logistical problem, however, which finally settled the immediate concern of how and when to Arabize: there were not enough trained cadres capable of setting up a government using Arabic as the vehicular language, and there was also a shortage of qualified indigenous teachers and a lack of adequate teaching materials in Arabic. French advisors and teachers had to be kept on, and French had to be used at least initially.

It was decided in Algeria and Morocco that complete Arabization was the goal, but that it would be done gradually to allow for the training of teachers

and technical and bureaucratic cadres. Tunisia opted for partial Arabization, as it was felt by Bourguiba and others that the French language had become part of the Tunisian identity and that official language policy should not completely eliminate its use. Generally, it might be stated that Algeria has been the most consistently dedicated to Arabizing and Tunisia the least, although it should be kept in mind that ideologically, Algeria has had to be more vociferous vis a vis Arabization in keeping with its revolutionary stance on most other issues. Nonetheless, all three countries have faced the same or similar problems in implementing a policy of Arabization.

III. Impediments to Arabization

A. Lack of native speakers of MSA

If a lack of trained cadres was the immediate constraint to Arabization, it was only the result of a more profound and far-reaching constraint: that Arabic, in its standard form, was as foreign a language to the peoples of the Maghreb as French, and perhaps even more so. (It is certain, for example, that beyond Koranic recitation, more people spoke French in varying degrees of proficiency than MSA at the time of independence.) The dichotomy between Modern Standard Arabic and the colloquial dialects of Arabic has been and remains the single greatest impediment to Arabization in the Maghreb. Not even the considerable number of native Berber speakers has been as great a problem, for the 40% Berber population in Morocco, the 20% in Algeria and the 1% in Tunisia nearly all speak colloquial Arabic as a second language (see Table 1).

B. Problems in elementary education

The gradual introduction of Modern Standard Arabic as a medium of instruction in the educational systems beginning with the primary level, was seen as the key to overall Arabization in all three countries. This policy, however, (which involved starting children out in school with MSA as a medium rather than their native colloquial Arabic, and introducing French by the third grade) turned out to be counterproductive, resulting in a high rate of primary school drop-out and generally low literacy rates. Additionally, even though French teachers have by and large been replaced by native North Africans in primary education and somewhat in secondary, the concentration of education-bound funds on Arabizing primary level schooling, without simultaneous, high-quality teacher training for native Maghrebians in MSA, has resulted in teachers who very often revert to colloquial Arabic in the classroom, thus doing very little for the overall development of MSA literacy.

C. Lack of support from elites

To these impediments must be added public skepticism about Arabization, when government elites, many of them proponents of Arabization, send their children

TABLE 1:

1984 ESTIMATIONS, NUMBERS OF SPEAKERS OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE MAGHREB

	Native Speakers, Colloquial Arabic Dialects		Total % Pop.	Native Speakers, Berber Languages	Total % Pop.	% Pop., Speakers Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)	% Pop., Speakers French as 2nd language
	as 1st lang.	as 2nd language					
Algeria	16,050,00 (75%)	4,280,000 (20%)	95%	5,350,000	25%	35%	40%
Morocco	14,160,000 (60%)	8,968,000 (38%)	98%	9,440,000	40%	20%	37%
Tunisia	6,930,000 (99%)	70,000 (1%)	100%	70,000	1% or less	60%	50%

to special schools where French is the medium of instruction and when access to most professional positions (including government posts) very often hinges on one's command of the French language.

D. Berberism

An additional problem unique to Algeria has been the rise of a movement known as "Berberism". While this movement is comprised mainly of Berbers from the Kabyle region, it also counts among its members many non-Berber intellectuals and writers generally not in favor of complete Arabization. The group demands that Algeria's Berber heritage be given cultural legitimacy, primarily by mention of it in the National Charter and other official documents, and by the establishment of Berber chairs in Algeria's universities. When riots broke out at the University of Tizi-Ouzou in 1980 over the denied appearance of a Berber poet in the university's lecture halls, the government gave in and established Berber chairs at two universities. Since the group has failed to gain popular support for its cause, however, the government has refused to meet any of its other demands, and has continued to insist upon the Arab, Muslim character of Algeria, with Arabization as the ultimate goal.

IV. Progress in Arabization

The impediments to effective Arabization have been substantial, but they have been balanced by factors working in favor of Arabization. Widespread attitudinal change towards the inevitability of complete Arabization has in part replaced the debates of the 1970's over whether the Maghrebian identity was an Arabo-Muslim or a Franco-Arab one. Progress is generally cited in three broad categories: education, administration and the media.

A. Education

One of the first steps in the Arabization of the primary school was the joint publication in 1967 by Tunisian, Algerian and Moroccan language specialists of Ar-Rasid al-Lughawi, or language fundamentals—a bilingual list of basic vocabulary used in the elementary school in the Maghreb, intended to aid in future materials development. Primary school instruction in all three countries is now completely Arabized, with the study of French only as a second language beginning in the third year.

Progress in Arabizing secondary education varies within each country. Tunisia still offers the bilingual option, where humanities subjects such as philosophy and history are taught in Arabic, and scientific and math courses in French. While Tunisian officials have often talked of Arabization at all levels of the educational system, many Tunisian language specialists believe that there has never been any real intention of initiating complete Arabization of the secondary school or the university. Algeria and Morocco, on the other hand, are following a policy of Arabization in secondary school grade level by grade level

which should abolish bilingual teaching at the secondary level in time. This means, for example, that science and math courses will be taught in French only until appropriate Arabic-language teaching materials can be developed for the higher grade level. Predictably, however, this does not mean that Algeria and Morocco are far ahead of Tunisia in Arabization of the educational system at this time. The dual challenge of teacher training and materials development in Modern Standard Arabic at this level has proven prohibitively expensive and extremely difficult within established time frames. There are still quite a large number of French nationals teaching in secondary schools and it will be years before complete Arabization can be claimed. In all cases, however, Arabic and French, and very often English, are taught as compulsory subjects, a policy unlikely to change in the future. Moreover, English is increasingly being viewed as a way out of the ideological dilemma of using French for all subjects technical and scientific, and a way out of the logistical problem of sufficiently modernizing Modern Standard Arabic to be used for these subjects.

At the university level, French is still very much the medium, with the use of Arabic varying by country. In Tunisia, for example, French is the dominant medium, with some Arabic-medium courses in the Faculties of Theology, Law and Arabic Language and Literature—not as a result of official policy to Arabize those faculties, but rather because the decision has been left to the professors and many have chosen to use Arabic in the classroom. Algeria and Morocco, however, offer optional Arabic or French tracks in the Faculties of Law, Arabic Language and Literature and the humanities. The bilingual option, however, has been fraught with difficulties, since government insistence upon Arabization in the administration has led students to believe that their best bet was the Arabic-medium option, when in fact, the French-educated graduates were given the available positions in government ministries over the Arabic-educated. This situation has led to student strikes and riots in Algeria and Morocco, and the government has responded with the promise to convert all bilingual-option programs into Arabic-medium-only programs in the future.

One aspect of Arabization which should guarantee that future Arabization goals are met, especially at the secondary and university levels of education, is the marked decrease in the use of French by the school population, and thus a certain loss of proficiency in that language. Moreover, the general repression of French within society in general as a result of Arabization, and the departure of most of the native French community, has contributed to the loss of opportunities outside the schoolroom to use the French language. This reduction of the use of French, while it is happening slowly, should make a reversal of official Arabization policies virtually impossible in the future.

B. Administration

Success in Arabization of the administration is most notable in Algeria, where, in 1968, a decree was issued requiring all Algerian officials to have a working knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic by 1971. MSA classes were provided within government ministries and on the radio and television to prepare workers for the proficiency exams. The Ministry of Justice was the first to organize a program to Arabize its internal functions, a process now complete. All court proceedings are conducted in MSA, although official MSA interpreters are pro-

vided for monolingual Berber speakers, and testimony is admissable in colloquial Arabic where proficiency in MSA is lacking. It is interesting to note that in 1975, court lawyers were still trying to conduct written and oral court proceedings in French. At this time, the government decided to take more stringent measures, threatening the jobs of any who refused to use Arabic, and forcing the use of colloquial Arabic until proficiency in MSA could be achieved. Other government ministries have been slower to Arabize, and French is still used in written government documents, although there must be an accompanying MSA version. Arabic is the language of instruction in Algerian military academies and enlisted men not proficient in MSA are given language classes upon their entry into the armed forces. In spite of the continued use of French in the administration, however, those who hope to secure a position with the government are aware that proficiency in MSA is a necessity and that French alone will not be acceptable.

This is also very much the case in Tunisia and Morocco, although heavy use is made of French in oral and written communications in most government ministries, and French proficiency is absolutely essential for any work in science, technology and medicine. The exceptions are, as in Algeria, the Ministries of Justice and additionally in Morocco, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Affairs, which are said to be Arabized. The Arabization of the Ministries of Justice in Tunisia and Morocco, however, is not as complete as in Algeria, for only in Algeria are prospective lawyers almost exclusively pursuing Arabized tracks ("sections arabophones") at the university, an option not even available in Tunisia currently.

C. Media

Government language planners in the Maghreb were quick to realize that if the overall literacy rate in Modern Standard Arabic could not be increased dramatically through the educational system, at least oral proficiency could be increased through widespread use of MSA on the radio and television. Thus, where French comprised approximately 2/3 of total output on radio and television in the 1960's and early 1970's, it has now been reduced to approximately 1/3, with the remainder MSA and some colloquial Arabic in television transmissions, and MSA, colloquial Arabic and Berber on the radio. Moreover, the content of radio and television programming now focusses on local programs, or programs and films from other Arab countries, such as Egypt and Lebanon, most of which are in Modern Standard Arabic. Additionally, in Algeria and Tunisia, ambitious MSA literacy campaigns have been introduced for adults with television and radio modules designed to supplement classroom instruction or simply to stand alone in areas where formal instruction has not been organized.

In the long run, general familiarity with MSA beyond Koranic recitation will come not primarily from the Arabization of education (as long as large num-

bers of school-age children remain outside the system), nor from the Arabization of government administration (from which most Maghrebians feel alienation and no sense of participation), but through the access to MSA afforded by increased television and radio programming in that language.

V. Current Developments

Since the late 1970's, there has been renewed vigor in the Arabization campaigns of all three countries of the Maghreb. The most important reason for this is the general shift in language usage, and in attitudes towards language brought about by partial Arabization, and which will necessitate near complete Arabization in the future.

Two additional forces--the one political and the other economic--have forced the hand of government leaders towards more rapid Arabization, or at least a more vociferous official commitment to the achievement of that goal. The political force is the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism or Islamic revival, which has since the mid-1970's swept the Middle East as a whole. The focus of this movement, generally, on traditional values and the Islamic heritage, has given rise to a popular demand for Arabization which had not been heard before. These Islamic groups, and the power they seem to command among Maghrebians of all classes and age groups, pose a threat to North African leaders, particularly in Tunisia and Algeria. Government rhetoric and promises have failed to mobilize the masses and have created a political void which many believe only the Islamic groups can fill. Government action on Arabization decisions can be clearly traced in Tunisia and Algeria to demonstrations organized (or thought to have been organized) by Islamic fundamentalist groups.

The economic force towards Arabization has been the influx of Arab monies into the Maghreb from the Gulf countries--both in development aid and in the headquartering of Arab development banks in North African cities. The influx of Arab capital (as well as the movement of the Arab League headquarters from Cairo to Tunis) has occasioned the need for a corps of professionals proficient in Modern Standard Arabic. This phenomenon has given rise to the desire to learn MSA, which no ideological commitment to pan-Arabism was ever able to do. In other words, proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic is no longer simply culturally rewarding, but financially lucrative as well.

In conclusion, it should be noted that Arabization is a process which requires extensive financial resources scarce in developing nations. This does not mean that Arabization will not eventually occur, but that it must be a gradual process, and that the issuing of a decree to Arabize some official function usually takes 10-15 years to fully implement. Thus, while government officials and language planners in the Maghreb have talked of Arabization in many areas without immediate results (such as secondary school and the university, or govern-

ment ministries where French has always been used), they have only just begun to make progress and many more years will need to pass before final judgements can be made. Moreover, the most important criterion for the success of Arabization has already been met: Modern Standard Arabic, virtually unknown to the populations of the Maghreb beyond simple Koranic recitation at the time of independence from France, is now a language spoken by substantial numbers of Maghrebians. Increasingly, MSA is being viewed as a language not only suitable as a medium for cultural expression, but for use as well in the administration, and in science, technology and medicine.

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APPENDIX 1

Center for Applied Linguistics/LARC
Country Status Reports
September, 1984
Algeria - Language Use Matrix

ALGERIA

Languages

Factoids	Arabic	Berber	French
1. Usage rating*	3	3	
2. Increase/decrease	2	-	
3. Chief of State use?	0	0	
4. Armed Forces/written	0	2	
5. Armed Forces/oral	0	0	
6. Government/written	0	2	
7. Government/oral, national	0	0	
8. Government/oral, local	0	0	
9. Court/written	0	0	
10. Court/oral	3	0	
11. Diplomatic use?	0	1	
12. Higher education	0	1	
13. Higher ed: required?	0	0	
14. Secondary education	0	1	
15. Secondary: required?	0	1	
16. Primary education	0	0	
17. Primary: required?	0	1	
18. Adult education	0	4	
19. Popular press use	0	2	
20. Transmission across borders?	1	1	
21. Use in radio broadcasting	3	2	
22. Use in TV broadcasting	0	2	
23. Use in film	0	1	
24. Business/professional/written	0	2	
25. Business/professional/oral	3	2	
26. Use in intellectual circles	0	1	
27. Alphabet situation*	0	1	
28. Status of literature	0	2	
29. Use in signs?	0	1	
30. Teaching materials*	2	-	
31. Bilingual dictionaries*	0	-	

Notes:

Numbers are explained on following pages

? = information unavailable within time frame of project

- = not applicable

* = footnotes on following pages

APPENDIX 2

Center for Applied Linguistics/LARC
Country Status Reports
December, 1984
Morocco - Language Use Matrix

MOROCCO

Languages

Factoids	Arabic	French	Berber
1. Usage rating*	1	3	3
2. Increase/decrease	2	-	2
3. Chief of State use?	1	0	0
4. Armed Forces/written	2	2	0
5. Armed Forces/oral	1	1	0
6. Government/written	2	2	0
7. Government/oral, national	1	0	0
8. Government/oral, local	1	0	3
9. Court/written	1	0	0
10. Court/oral	1	0	3
11. Diplomatic use?	1	1	0
12. Higher education	1	1	0
13. Higher ed: required?	1	1	0
14. Secondary education	1	1	0
15. Secondary: required?	1	1	0
16. Primary education	1	1	0
17. Primary: required?	1	1	0
18. Adult education	4	0	0
19. Popular press use	1	1	0
20. Transmission across borders?	1	1	0
21. Use in radio broadcasting	2	2	2
22. Use in TV broadcasting	2	2	0
23. Use in film	1	1	0
24. Business/professional/written	2	2	0
25. Business/professional/oral	1	1	3
26. Use in intellectual circles	1	1	0
27. Alphabet situation*	1	1	0
28. Status of literature	1	2	0
29. Use in signs?	1	1	0
30. Teaching materials*	2	-	2
31. Bilingual dictionaries*	2	-	2

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APPENDIX 3

Center for Applied Linguistics/LARC
Country Status Reports
September, 1984
Tunisia - Language Use Matrix

TUNISIA

Languages

Factoids	Arabic	French
1. Usage rating*	1	3
2. Increase/decrease	2	-
3. Chief of State use?	1	0
4. Armed Forces/written	1	0
5. Armed Forces/oral	1	2
6. Government/written	2	2
7. Government/oral, national	1	0
8. Government/oral, local	1	0
9. Court/written	1	0
10. Court/oral	1	0
11. Diplomatic use?	1	1
12. Higher education	1	1
13. Higher ed: required?	1	1
14. Secondary education	1	1
15. Secondary: required?	1	1
16. Primary education	1	0
17. Primary: required?	1	1
18. Adult education	1	0
19. Popular press use	1	1
20. Transmission across borders?	1	1
21. Use in radio broadcasting	1	1
22. Use in TV broadcasting	2	2
23. Use in film	1	1
24. Business/professional/written	2	2
25. Business/professional/oral	1	2
26. Use in intellectual circles	1	1
27. Alphabet situation*	1	1
28. Status of literature	1	2
29. Use in signs?	1	1
30. Teaching materials*	2	2
31. Bilingual dictionaries*	2	2

Notes:

Numbers are explained on following pages

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APPENDIX 4

Language Use Matrix
Center for Applied Linguistics
April 1984
Numerical Scales - 1

1. Usage rating, using the State Department classifications
   1: Official language, most widely used.
   2: Official language, not most widely used.
   3: Widely used language, but not official. (Over 10% of population)
   4: Unofficial language used by significant minority (but less than 3)
   5: Unofficial language used by influential minority
   FOOTNOTE: NUMBERS OF SPEAKERS, PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

2. Increase/decrease trends by the year 2000
   1: Number of native speakers will increase in proportion
   2: Number of native speakers will remain proportionally constant
   3: Number of native speakers will decrease in proportion

3. Chief of State use, in addressing populace: YES (1) NO (0)

4. Armed Forces written communications
   1: Only language used in official communiques
   2: One of the languages used in official communiques
   0: Not used in official communiques

5. Armed Forces oral communications
   1: Used on all levels
   2: Used among officers only
   3: Used among multi-lingual NCO's and troops
   4: Used among monolingual troops only
   0: Not used

6. Written government communications
   1: Only language used in official communications
   2: One of the languages used in official communications
   0: Not used in official communications

7. Oral government communications/national level
   1: Official language spoken in national assembly
   2: One of the official languages spoken in national assembly
   0: Not used in government

8. Oral government communications/local level
   1: Official language in local government
   2: One of the official languages used in local government
   3: Allowed in local government proceedings, translated into official language
   0: Not used in local government

9. Court use in written communications
   1: Only language used in official communications
   2: One of the languages used in official communications
   0: Not used

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Language Use Matrix
Center for Applied Linguistics
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Numerical Scales - 2

10. Court use in oral communications
    1: Only official language used in court
    2: One of the official languages used in court
    3: Allowed in courts, translated into official language(s)
    0: Not used in courts

11. Diplomatic use in notes to other countries: YES (1) NO (0)

12. Use in higher education
    1: Official medium of instruction
    2: Unofficial medium of instruction
    0: Not used

13. Language taught as subject in required courses in higher education:
    YES (1) NO (0)

14. Use in secondary education
    1: Official medium of instruction
    2: Unofficial medium of instruction
    0: Not used as medium of instruction

15. Language taught as subject in required courses on secondary level?
    YES (1) NO (0)

16. Use in primary education
    1: Official medium of instruction
    2: Unofficial medium of instruction
    0: Not used as medium of instruction

17. Language taught as subject in required courses on primary level?
    YES (1) NO (0)

18. Language use in adult education
    1: Used in oral and written technical instruction
    2: Used in oral and written life skills instruction
    3: Used in oral life skills instruction
    4: Used in literacy classes only
    0: Not used in adult informal education

19. Language use in popular press
    1: Used in publications throughout country
    2: Used in centrally-based publications with national distribution
    3: Used only in regional and local publications
    4: Used in clandestine publications only
    0: Not used

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Language Use Matrix
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Numerical Scales - 3

20. Language used in radio/TV transmission across national borders?
YES (1) NO (0)

21. Language use in radio broadcasting
1: Language used broadcasting thoughout country
2: Language used in centrally-based national broadcasts
3: Language used in local broadcasting only
3: Language used in clandestine broadcasting only
0: Language not used in radio broadcasting

22. Language use in TV broadcasting
1: Language used in telecasting throughout country
2: Language used in centrally-based national telecasting
3: Language used regional and local telecasting only
0: Language not used in TV

23. Language use in film
1: Language used in indigenous film-making
2: Foreign-language films dubbed/subtitled into language
0: Language not used in films

24. Business/Professional use - written
1: Sole official language in business and professional communications
2: One of the official languages in business and professional communication
0: Not used

25. Business/Professional use - oral
1: Used in trade and commerce throughout country
2: Used in national trade and commerce only
3: Used only in local trade and commerce

26. Language use in intellectual circles
1: Language used in indigenous scholarly publications
2: Language used in formal scholarly discussion
0: Language not used

27. Alphabet situation
1: Established standardized alphabet exists.
2: Alphabet developed, no standardization
3: Competing alphabets exist
0: No alphabet exists
FOOTNOTE: TYPE OF ALPHABET USED

28. Status of indigenous literature
1: Established written tradition exists
2: Literature tradition emerging
3: Popular literature exists
0: No written literature exists

29. Language used in official public signs, notices: YES (1) NO (0)

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30. Teaching materials for English speakers
    1: Wide range of teaching materials exists
    2: Narrow range of teaching materials exists
    0: No teaching materials exist
    FOOTNOTE: SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

31. Dictionaries for English speakers
    1: Wide range of bilingual dictionaries exists
    2: Narrow range of dictionaries exists
    0: No dictionaries exist
    FOOTNOTE: SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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